5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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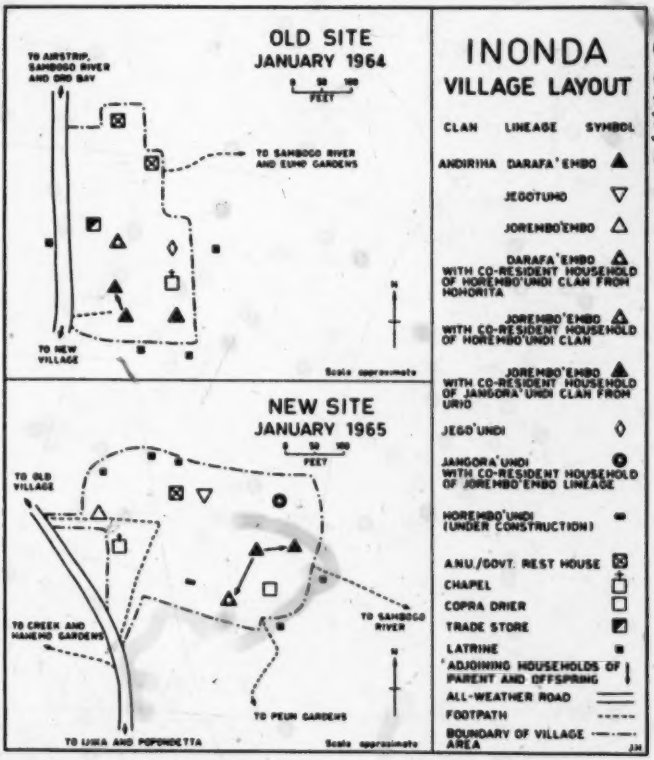

Fig. 4. Inonda village layout.

The leader, a government driver, earned about 65 per cent of the total cash income of the whole village, not only in wages but also through various enterprises on the side. He was the lay preacher as well. The only limit to his influence was the unwillingness of the pagan faction to become involved in 'modern' activities of which he was the champion.

Ecologically, Inonda is characteristic of the alluvial plains region to the east of the mountain. It lies between 200 and 300 feet above sea level, and has a comparatively low rain-fall and long dry periods. Its population density is low: 42 people on a village domain of 2850 acres (less than 10 per square mile). The best Inonda land is 580 acres of coarse-textured recent riverine deposits, covered with forest or regrowth and lying beside the Sambogo and Girua rivers.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

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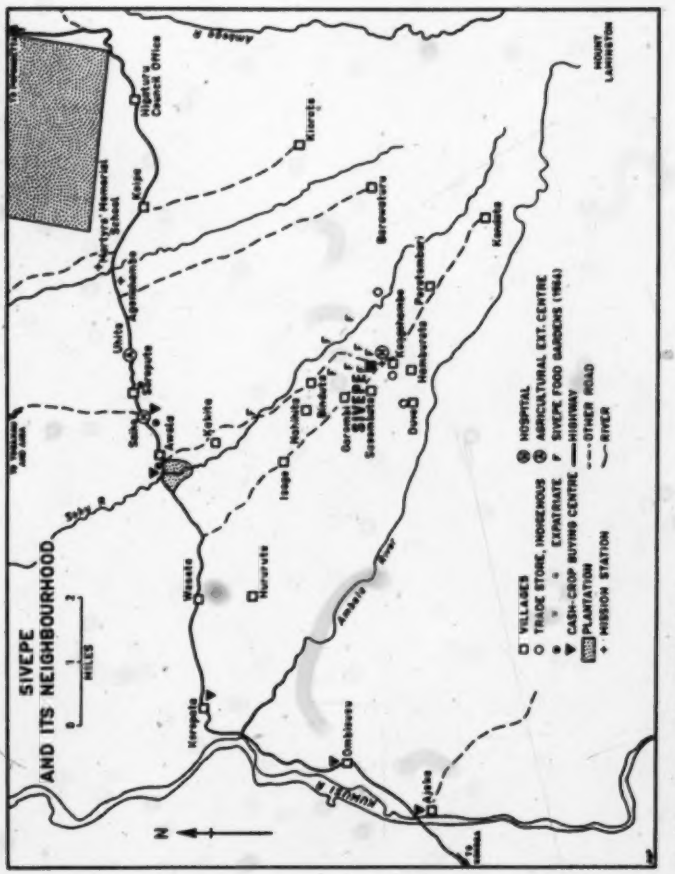

Fig. 10. Sivepe and its neighbourhood.

743 The Public Health Department maintains a large base hospital at Saiho, 5 miles from Sivepe. A vegetable market at Saiho, originally established to supply the hospital, now serves a wider range of customers and at present is open every Thursday and Saturday (E. Waddell: personal communication). A few Sivepe people in our sample sell vegetables there regularly but seldom buy anything except lime (for chewing with betel nut). There are well-stocked trade stores at Saiho and Awala and a Savings Bank agency at Awala. In 1963 a trade store was established near Sasembata, by a member of Kongahambo village.

177 648 We could not complete this introductory sketch of local facilities and conditions without noting the traumatic experiences of the mountain Orokaiva during the life-span of the older men. Even an abbreviated description of local attitudes towards introduced economic and social changes such as we attempt later, would be inadequate unless it alluded to the likely deep impact of the following events.

First, the early government patrols, which encountered widespread opposition from the Orokaiva, were attacked most persistently by the 'Wasida' people who include the Sivepe villagers. Fighting was fierce and many of the old men we talked to had seen close relatives killed or wounded.

Second, during World War II the paths of advance and retreat of Australian and Japanese troops crossed this area and the Orokaiva were 'drawn in as helpers, willingly or unwillingly, on both sides of the lines'.[1] Some Orokaiva groups also became involved in intertribal skirmishes at this time - during our stay an imminent military exercise occasioned apprehensions among some Orokaiva about a possible resumption of dormant intertribal conflict at the time of the exercise.

Scattered for safety in the bush while the wartime campaigns swept the area, many people in the neighbourhood of Sivepe died of malnutrition. In addition, there was very thorough recruiting of local men for subsequent phases of the war elsehwere in the Territory. In 1948 patrol staff reported that there was cause for concern in the continued decline in population.[2] At this

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[1] Keesing 1951 :8. For an account of this episode see McCarthy 1959: Ch. 4, 10 ff., see esp. pp.110, 126n and maps pp.123, 357.

[2] The war was said to have been a contributing factor; moreover, many villagers were employed as labourers on local European plantations and returned only at weekends; more important, the percentage of able-bodied males absent elsewhere as indentured labour had reached 31 and the officer accordingly recommended in 1948 that the area including Isoge, Iaivita and Awala villages be closed to recruiting.

454 474 teacher who had undertaken part of a co-operatives storeman's course was approached for advice. They decided to attempt to finance training for co-operatives for 2 men, but it was over a year before agreement could be reached on the selection of the trainees, 2 Administration Servants employed in Popondetta.

By this time the teacher had disassociated himself from the scheme and advised the participants to discontinue it on the grounds that they had proved themselves incapable of organizing properly constituted meetings, that the villages had failed to co-operate with one another and that they would not seek the assistance of government officers. He told them that the joint accounts were unworkable and that they would need to buy individual £5 shares if they were to proceed with the scheme.

578 The development of the enterprise up to the date of our survey had been impeded by the failure to agree upon a name, an issue which those involved feel to be fundamental, and by the absence of widely accepted leadership. Meetings have been marked by disputes between local government councillors, teachers and leaders of the various descent groups participating and some decisions arrived at during meetings have not been supported by villagers who did not attend.

However, we have received some indication since leaving Sivepe that more positive co-ordination in the neighbourhood has been achieved in the meantime and concrete plans have been put forward with a view to establishing and operating a co-operative store on the main road to Popondetta (E. Waddell: personal communication). [366] There are at present at least 3 trade stores within easier reach of Sivepe than this.

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454 considerable interest was shown, more than $14,000 being subscribed by the Orokaiva in the first six months of operation. However, it appeared during 1964 that this company might experience the same pattern of high initial interest and subsequent disenchantment, accentuated by the failure to pay a dividend at the end of the first year of operation.

439 Cocoa is purchased by both DASF and the Popondetta Cocoa Fermentary Ltd, a company financed entirely by European capital. Plans were being made in 1964 for the ex-servicemen settlers, both indigenous and expatriate, to establish their own fermentary.

366 [438] Weekly markets at Popondetta and Saiho provide outlets for subsistence produce but turnover is small and it is doubtful whether they contribute significantly to many individual incomes.[1] The principal buyer at Saiho is the Public Health Department and at Popondetta, the urban indigenous wage labour force, but in both markets the volume of transactions between subsistence-oriented villagers (primarily involving lime, smoked fish, areca nuts and fresh meat) is increasing.

435 461 [433] The Administration and the Anglican mission buy fresh foods brought to their stations. Since purchase prices were fixed by the Administration at 2c and the mission at 1c per lb,[2] and only a limited quantity is required, there is little incentive for the villager to increase production.

[241] In spite of an increasing commitment to cash cropping, rates of planting and levels of production fluctuate with changing prices and difficulties in selling certain crops. The purchase price for coffee has ranged between 9c and 32c per lb over the period 1935-65 while that for latex has fallen from a peak of 55c per lb during the Korean War boom to 9c per lb in 1965. A Citrus Marketing Scheme elicited much local interest in 1956-57 when fruit was purchased at 5c per lb, but it collapsed with the unwillingness of retailers in Port Moresby to handle the produce.

241 [464] (f) Conclusions

In spite of long participation in cash cropping, Orokaiva involvement is not high. Everywhere commercial production remains subsidiary to subsistence, individual cash crop holdings are almost

[434] [437]

[1] Dakeyne 1965:109; Rimoldi 1966:8. Both show, however, that a few individuals earn worthwhile sums from marketing.

[2] Bartered at this rate in salt, tobacco, razor blades and kerosene.

525 the losers. Villagers may also lose a fair proportion of their cash income through gambling.

461 (vi) The use of cash. Income is used for settling obligations, direct consumption and capital savings. The first includes taxes to the local government council, contributions to the mission and marriage payments. These occur only occasionally, but their size may require that an individual seek wage employment or harvest his cash crops with the specific purpose of meeting such requirements. The heaviest demands coincide with and immediately follow the [65] period of most intensive cash crop production. Between about [623] March and July the Higaturu Local Government Council collects its [797] annual tax of $6 per adult male and $2 per female. During the latter half of the year, the Anglican mission seeks contributions [436] to its Papuan Church Fund, in some areas recommending gifts of $4 by men and $2 by women. Cash also circulates among villagers in the form of small gifts as part of the 'normal' exchange pattern.

366 Most villages are within half an hour's walk of trade stores and during the dry season in particular, distinct recourse is made to them for food. Only very small sums are paid out at markets or to hawkers.

454 Opportunities for investing savings occur with two local companies, Oro Ltd and the OCGS, and with the major savings banks through their agencies. In spite of a required minimum shareholding of $5 and $10 respectively, the first two have elicited considerable support and are preferred to savings accounts because interest on the latter is considered too small.[1] In addition to shares, a considerable amount of money is tied up in village or clan savings accounts but there are few instances of this money being used to benefit the group.

241 Apart from the few trade stores and coffee pulpers, little income [179] is invested in large capital equipment. Herein, perhaps, lies the anomaly of commercial agriculture in the Northern District. In spite of the long record of experimentation with various forms of work organisation and tenure (admittedly, largely directed from outside), the degree of economic development remains low when compared with the Gazelle Peninsula or parts of the Eastern and Western [493] Highlands Districts. The proportion of cash croppers among villagers is lower, as are the actual incomes derived from cash cropping and there are no locally-owned vehicles (except those of ex-servicemen settlers). Nevertheless, interest in commercial agriculture is

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[1] One expatriate planter who operates a savings bank agency expressed concern that withdrawals had exceeded deposits for the twelve months preceding mid-1964. He believed that the money was being used principally to buy shares in Oro Ltd.

361 Inonda lies in Buna census division, the most sparsely settled part of the Popondetta sub-district (with the exception of Huhurundi). Apart from an ex-servicemen's settlement block, there are only four villages within a three mile radius of both village sites (see Map 5). At the beginning of the survey, Inonda was on a site it had occupied since 1956, but during 1964 it was rebuilt about a mile to the south-west, still on the forest-grassland border.

491 368 131 The village is about ten miles from Popondetta, to which it is linked by a good all-weather road. About three miles towards Popondetta, west of the Girua River, is Hohota village and its off-shoot settlement, Ijika, where there is a local government council aid post, a church and attached primary school (with classes to standard III), and a trade store. Running north-east from the main road parallel to the Girua River is a line of ex-servicemen's settlement blocks - one expatriate - and eleven Papuan-owned, one of them by a former resident of Inonda and several others from nearby villages. There are five trade stores on or near the blocks, two of them expatriate-owned, and a new Administration school. This latter is not used by the Inonda people, although they believe it to be a higher standard than the mission school. Eastwards from Inonda, the road runs through sparsely-populated grass plains to the coast at Oro Bay. Late in 1964 the Popondetta airstrip was closed and a wartime tarmac strip two miles east of the village was reopened to serve the township, with a consequent increase in traffic along the main road.

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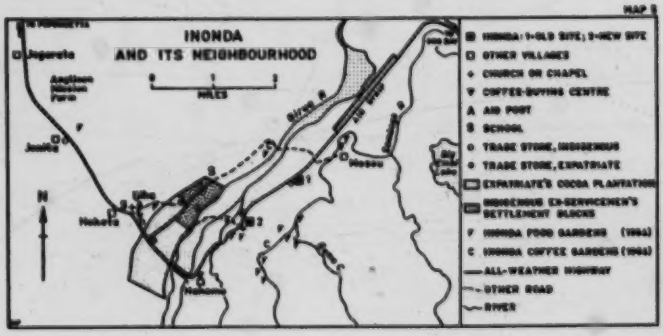

on the western slopes of Mt Lamington some 13 miles away (but 40 miles by road). As will be seen by comparing Tables 11:20 and 11:22, links between Inonda villagers and kin who are in wage employment in Ururu, Popondetta or on plantations are characterised by an outflow of garden produce from Inonda and an inflow of store-bought foods, clothing and cash. Many of the disposals to people from places more than two miles distant take place in Inonda - a string bag of vegetables weighing 35 lbs or more is rarely carried for any great distance and this in itself ensures a comparatively low volume of transactions of vegetable produce over distances greater than three or four miles. One of the main items of long-distance exchange is areca, which Inonda people receive mostly from villages such as Sewa and Kendata higher on the slopes of Mt Lamington.

In general, about half the subsistence transactions with people in the above places is of taro, with sweet potato, banana, sugar-cane and pigmeat also prominent. The bulk of acquisitions from kin in Urio, however, was of sweet potato, which had been planted as a 'catch crop' on land cleared for cocoa trees. The Xanthosoma bought at the market formed two-thirds of the acquisitions from Popondetta and fish and game formed almost half of the disposals, these going almost entirely to the market. Half of the acquisitions from Ururu (the mission station at Popondetta) were bananas - presumably such a crop is most easily grown by mission staff with little time (and land) at their disposal.

(ii) Labour services. The Inonda people receive over half of all labour services from their co-residents while most of the others came from only three other places: Sewa, where the entrepreneur's mother's sister's sons live; Ijika, where there is a branch of one of the component lineages of the Andiriha clan; and Kendata, the home village of the wife of one Inonda man (see Table 11:21). In the case of Sewa and Kendata, young people came to stay with and assist their Inonda kin for periods of a few weeks; the Sewa men assisted particularly in sago-making and construction, but also in some tasks related to the cash sector. Disposals of labour services are mainly to Inonda people but a considerable amount of assistance in cash sector tasks goes to kin in Ijika and to settlers on the Girua block. It should be noted that, although no labour assistance is received from settlers, Inonda people receive more commodities, both traditional and non-traditional, from the settlers than they give to them.

(iii) Storebought goods. The distribution of transacting partners for non-traditional goods differs greatly from that for garden and forest produce (see Table 11:22 and 11:23). The principal factor involved is the presence of trade stores as the main source of such goods. Thus, Popondetta, with several stores and within reasonably easy travelling distance, provides 40 per cent of Inonda people's total acquisitions of non-traditional goods,

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Table 11:21

Inonda: the geographical distribution of labour service transactions

Item	Acquisitions				Disposal			
	Labour, cash sector	Labour, subsistence sector	Total labour services		Labour, cash sector	Labour, subsistence sector	Total labour services	
Villages	Percentage		hours	%	Percentage		hours	%
Inonda	54	56	350.7	56	54	83	351.2	80
Hahemo and Ajoro	-	1	7.5	1	-	1	4.0	1
Ijika	21	3	27.2	4	19	7	36.7	8
Mosou	-	1	7.2	1	-	3	10.5	2
Sewa	22	29	179.5	28	-	-	-	-
Evundo	-	-	2.0	-	-	-	-	-
Popondetta	3	-	1.5	-	-	1	2.7	1
Ururu	-	1	8.0	1	-	-	-	-
Kendata	-	8	47.6	8	-	-	-	-
Girua block	-	-	-	-	21	4	27.5	6
Banga	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.0	1
Jenita	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-
Urio	-	-	-	-	6	-	3.3	1
Total	100	99	631.2	99	100	100	439.9	100
Total hours	52.8	578.4			53.1	386.8		

although for some items the proportion derived from people or stores in Popondetta is considerably smaller. These latter include items widely-stocked in small village stores and items that circulate within the gift exchange system, such as rice, tinned fish and sweet biscuits. The prominence of Evundo as a source of non-traditional items was due to the opening of a store there in mid-1964 rather than to the links established with the road labourers' encampment. At both Ijika and the Girua block are trade stores where purchases were made, although gift exchanges were also effected with kin living there. Goods obtained from Saiho, Sangara and Ururu are exclusively gifts from kin in wage employment rather than purchases. As a result of the distribution of stores and of wage earning kin, over 55 per cent of the non-traditional goods acquired by Inonda people come from distances greater than five miles. Disposals by Inonda

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 274]

Table 11:22

Incomes: places of origin of main storebought goods acquired by the sample

Item	Rice	Tinned fish	Tinned meat	Bread	Sugar	Sweet biscuits	Alcoholic drinks	Snacks	Tobacco	Flour	Clothing	Cooking utensils	Other personal goods	Cartridges	Total	
Village	Percentages*														$	%
Inonda	29	30	9	22	20	40	28	18	83	5	7	-	86	12	91.76	25
Ijiki	7	7	30	2	3	11	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	14	18.10	5
Girua block	7	7	6	1	12	6	-	2	5	-	2	-	-	12	14.82	4
Sewa	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.46	1
Evundo	12	18	5	5	20	10	-	8	2	5	5	16	-	25	30.64	8
Popondetta	22	17	40	62	31	20	26	68	3	87	49	65	14	28	148.68	40
Ururu	6	2	7	3	7	5	29	-	1	2	-	6	-	-	12.58	3
Soiho	9	6	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	13	-	-	11.04	3
Sangara	5	5	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	5	-	-	-	9.60	3
Australia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	21.54	6
All other places**	1	4	3	2	5	5	13	1	1	-	2	-	-	8	19.62	3
	99	97	100	98	99	100	99	100	98	99	101	100	100	99	372.84	101
Total in $	56.74	29.98	17.00	17.50	17.84	15.56	8.60	10.46	21.24	13.80	77.04	9.76	21.58	7.22		

* Columns may not add to 100 due to rounding.

** Sixteen in all.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 0323 Orokaiva 0323

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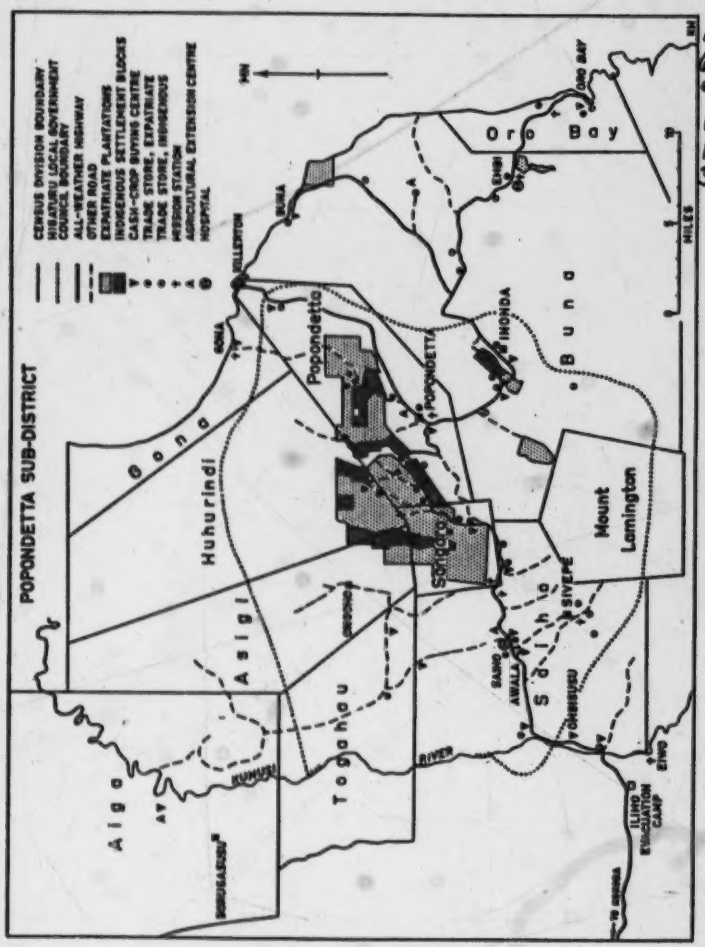
9: Kearney P-5 (1965) 1966 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

11: Dakeyne K-5 (1962-1964) 1966 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Yega



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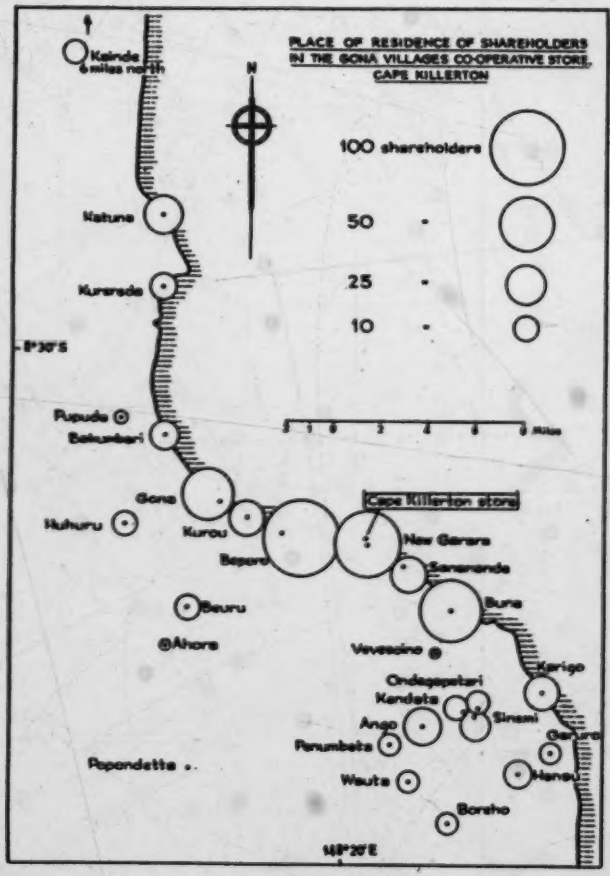

Note. At the time of joining the society Yega members lived in eight small villages but total Yega membership is shown as Beporo. In 1964 the Yega were dispersed throughout their territory in 17 localities varying in size from 30 houses to single homesteads.

purchases. In this way the shareholders obtained additional rebate benefits. In general, however, sales to non-shareholders correlated fairly closely with the presence or absence of small coastal trading vessels at the wharf.

Most of the buying at the store was done by men. There were no women shareholders, but wives and daughters used their husbands' and fathers' share numbers when purchasing goods.[1] The men were discriminating buyers and a man who had walked some miles to the store to buy a specific item would usually stand for a while surveying the goods displayed and asking a question or two about prices. After the purchase was made, usually of only one or two items, the buyer left the store, but usually stopped to chat at Surilai village on the northern side of the store before going home.

An analysis made of the spending patterns of a group of 27 Yega shareholders over a two-year period (January 1961-December 1962) showed that of a total expenditure of $1148, 49 per cent was spent on food (mainly tinned meat, tinned fish, rice and sugar), 11 per cent on tobacco, 11 per cent on clothing, 7 per cent on kitchen utensils, 3 per cent on garden tools and 17 per cent on miscellaneous items including torches, soft drinks, kerosene, matches, fishing gear, etc.

The most sought after foods were those with high protein content - tinned meats and fish. Only one bicycle (costing $52) was sold during the two years surveyed. The low rate of spending on garden tools is noteworthy, considering the importance of gardening in the Yega economy; but axes and bush knives were carefully guarded and, being very durable they needed only occasional replacement.

Almost every Yega child over six years of age and every adult of both sexes owned at least one item of European-type clothing. On working days, cotton skirts were worn by the girls and women, and shorts or cotton loin cloths by the men, but tapa (bark cloth) skirts were preferred by the adolescent girls and tapa boavo (bark loin cloth) by the older men for Sunday wear. Most people preferred to purchase their clothing requirements from the wider range available in the larger Popondetta stores rather than from the co-operative.

Retail trading showed a remarkable increase from 1961-2 to 1962-3. The turnover doubled during the financial year but a falloff in trade of about 12½ per cent occurred in 1963-4. This situation probably resulted from lower spending by Yega shareholders,

[1] In the course of six or seven visits to the store I can recall only once having seen a woman at the counter.

many of whom moved their place of residence some three to five miles inland from the coastal villages along the Gona-Popondetta road during 1963-4, bringing them nearer to the larger Popondetta stores (see preceding article in this bulletin).

The rate of spending was remarkably constant throughout 1962 (the only year checked) except in December when 16 per cent of annual turnover was handled. Other months accounted for 6 per cent to 9 per cent of the annual turnover. The high figure for December was partly due to a shareholders' rebate being distributed on 12 December. Much of the money given in rebates was seen by the author to be immediately spent again in the store. Also, many men who worked outside the village returned for holidays at Christmas time with appreciable sums of money. Finally, the European custom of holding Christmas parties had been adopted by the Yega, resulting in increased spending on food.

The Yega were still predominantly subsistence cultivators with very limited financial resources. The co-operative store served a useful purpose in providing them with easily preservable proteins as well as a range of other foods, clothing, consumer goods, tools and domestic equipment.

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12: Crocombe E-5 (1962) 1966 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
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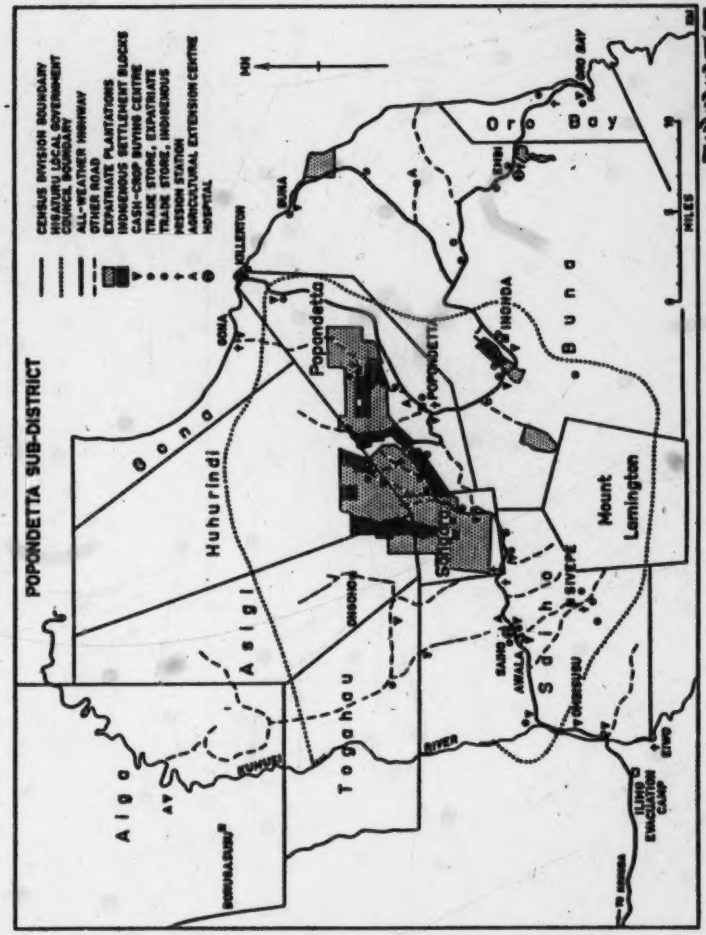

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTORY

Location and facilities

131 Inonda is situated about eleven miles from Popondetta on the Oro Bay road. Up to the present, access to Popondetta has been dependent on the state of the Girua river but with the completion of a bridge later this year all-weather access will be ensured. Inonda lies within the Orokaiva culture area and is served by the Higaturu Local Government Council. Administration patrols visit the village once or twice annually.

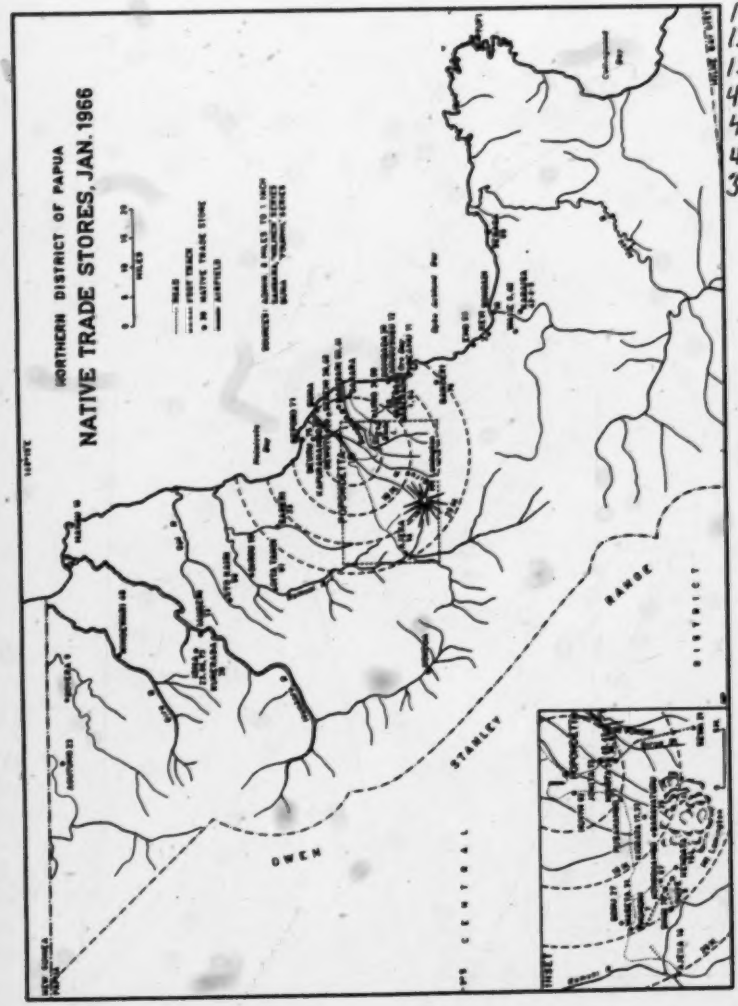
368 [811] [787] The nearest school is about six miles away across the river at Hobota. Some children attend this school spasmodically and a few board at church schools at Popondetta or Embi. Others do not go to school at all. There is an Anglican church in the village though it is little used except when an itinerant priest happens to be passing by.

498 [366] 439 Kerosene, tobacco, sugar, salt and other household requirements are usually purchased from a small trade store about three miles distant but larger purchases are made in Popondetta. There are four main items of traditional trade which appear to follow particular routes. As betel nuts do not grow well in Inonda these are bartered or purchased from inland tribes (usually through relatives) and the lime which is chewed with them is acquired from the coast. Traditional valuables (hambo) are acquired most frequently by barter with the coastal people, but birds' feathers for making head-dresses (di) are obtained from the Managalas tribes in the mountains in exchange for dogs, money and other items. The advent of shotguns has reduced the trade in feathers to those of birds of paradise and other relatively rare species. In bygone days clay pots and wooden bowls were traded from the coast in return for feathers and other valuables but with the advent of cheap imported utensils this trade has ceased.

Physical features

133 Topography: The Inonda lands lie partly on the flood plains of the Girua and Sambogo rivers and partly in the

16: Oostermeyer & Gray U-5 (1965-1966) 1967 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23



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463 An examination of whether elective positions of responsibility
472 were held before or after entrepreneurial activities commenced
571 suggests that persons with leadership qualities already recognised
621 by the community are more likely to engage in such activities.

Table 7

Time relation between entrepreneurial activity and elected position

Time elected	A	B	E	F	G	I	J	L
Before trade store opened	'	'	'	?	'	?		'
After trade store opened							'*	

* J has been invited to become chairman of the local co-operative store which he helped to establish.

The holding of an elective position of responsibility concomitantly with carrying on entrepreneurial activities is not necessarily an advantage to the entrepreneur. Several of the subjects had found that their community duties were time-consuming and interfered with their trading activities.

463 Household composition. It is impossible to say whether a large
472 household tends to inhibit trading success but the data suggest that
592 it may.

Group I subjects averaged 6.5 persons per household, group II, 5.75 persons and group III, 5.25 persons.

Many entrepreneurs complained that relatives, particularly older ones, took food and other items from the stores without payment but we have no measured data on this point.

Table 8

Size of household

A	8	E	5	I	10
B	3	F	4	J	3
C	10	G	5	K	6
D	5	H	9	L	2
Average	6.5		5.75		5.25

463 Residence in or out of village. In traditional Orokaiva society
472 members of a village or clan were bound together by a complex system
602 of kinship ties and obligations (Williams 1930:335). Subsistence
derives from the land and social security from the fulfilment of
[366] obligatory ties which bring reciprocal returns in times of sickness,

463 old age or other need. The system was not geared toward capital
472 accumulation, nor was the bulk of material reward retained by the
602 man who made the effort. To achieve maximum economic efficiency a
366 modern entrepreneur must disengage himself to some extent from his kinship obligations. As Table 9 shows, a number of the entrepreneurs studied have physically removed themselves from the village to live near their cash crops, or have built close to, but outside, their villages. Thus while the vast majority of Orokaiva people live within a village, most entrepreneurs among them do not, and all the most successful live outside their home villages.[1] Independence, however, may place the entrepreneur in a vulnerable position. He has reduced access to the security provided by traditional ties, reciprocal obligations and religious rites within the village community, and there are at present no alternative provisions for social security.

Table 9 suggests that there may possibly be advantages in trading away from one's own village and where one is not dependent on one's villagers as customers. All three traders within their own village have had little or no success, and all the most successful groups are outside or away from their home village.

Table 9

Location of store

Location	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H*	I	J	K	L
Away from own village (i.e. own villagers not usual customers)	'			'				'	'			'
Close to but outside own village		'					'			'	'	
Within own village			'		'	'						

* H's village is to be shifted to the present location of his trade store. He resides within his own village.

[166] Half of the least successful traders were still living in the village of their birth, whereas 75 per cent of the traders in both groups II and III were not living in the village in which they were born.

463 Of the sixty-seven indigenes in the Northern District holding
472 trading licences, twenty-three are shown in the government records
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[1] Likewise all four entrepreneurs studied by Crocombe (1967:5) lived outside their villages.

16: Oostermeyer & Gray U-5 (1965-1966) 1967 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

463 to be trading within their own village and twenty-six outside their
472 village.[1] In eighteen cases store location is not specified. The
only indication of success provided by the licence is the period of
366 operation for each store. This index is not wholly reliable,
because a store licence is sometimes renewed when the store is no
longer in operation but is intended to be re-opened.[2]

Table 10

Store location and years of operation of all indigenous entrepreneurs in the Northern District*

Store location	Years of operation by trading licences 1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Within own village	3	7	11	-	-	2	23
Outside own village	3	4	8	3	4	4	26
No information on location	11	5	-	2	-	-	18
Total	17	16	19	5	4	6	67

[127] * This information was obtained from government records which are not available before 1960.

Only 9 per cent of those whose stores are located within the village have held a trading licence for more than three years, compared to a corresponding figure of 42 per cent for those who trade outside the village. This conclusion must be tentative as trading licences are an unreliable index of success, but it agrees with the evidence of the present study and with the data of Crocombe (1967:21). Both tables suggest that trading within one's own village may have an inhibiting effect on individual commercial activity.

463 Labour. The Orokaiva commonly enlist the help of relatives to
472 establish and maintain cash crops. These relatives are rarely
476 regarded as paid labourers, and are compensated with random gifts of cash, store goods, an undefined share in the profits of the cash crop or a wide variety of services such as help in farm work, bride price, etc. Such obligations are not specific as to volume, value or time, and even when met can be used for further credit.

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[1] The number actually within the village is considerably less as those trading and living within about a mile of their village are usually recorded as being within the village.

[2] For example, subjects A, B, C and D, who have all closed down their stores, still retain current trading licences.

17: Morawetz U-4,5 (1966) 1967 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Ombi-Tara

Appendix B

The Ombi-Tara environment and population

131 [133] Ombi village is in the Kokoda sub-district about twenty-seven miles from Popondetta along the main Popondetta-Kokoda road. It is situated on top of a plateau up a steep escarpment, about 250 yards from the main road. Tara is about two miles from Ombi and straddles the access road which runs through the converted land occupying part of two of the blocks. It was previously about two miles further away and was moved to its present site in 1964 after survey of the land to be converted was under way.

133 [361] The Kumusi River flows close to the Popondetta-Kokoda road, about four hundred yards from Ombi village. Ombi village was formerly sited next to the river but was moved to its present higher location in about 1957, reportedly to escape the mosquitoes.

871 872 [368] The nearest school is conducted by the Administration at Ajeka, about two miles away. Most children of the appropriate age attend school daily. Several of the older children board at schools in Popondetta while some children do not attend school at all.

366 438 439 The nearest trade store is at Ajeka but this is seldom open, and most purchases are made from the store operated by a European planter at Awala, a distance of seven miles. Clothing and larger items are purchased in Popondetta.

134 The Ombi-Tara lands are part of the Higatura land system which contains a considerable proportion of good land with reasonably fertile soils, suitable for many arable or tree crops as well as pasture.[1]

132 137 The most important features of the climate are the generally heavy rainfall, and the almost uniformly high temperatures and humidities throughout the year. Rainfall ranges from 120 to 150 inches annually and may well be greater in the higher areas, including Ombi-Tara. These climatic features are reflected in abundant plant growth. At Ombi-Tara rainforest covers much of the surrounding land, which is marked by a series of steep ridges.

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[1] See C.S.I.R.O. 1964.

563 More important was the encouragement given by the Chinese
437 store to the development of Papuan-owned trade stores in the villages.
443 Village trade stores have existed in the Northern District for a long time but traditionally they were built by planters who sought extra income by selling trade goods to their employees and villagers in the vicinity. The shopkeeper was a closely-supervised Papuan on wages. In 1966, I counted some 20 of these stores between Inonda and Sivepa. Fourteen of these were owned by various planters, but the other six were of the new type promoted by the Chinese trader. Here the owner of the store was Orokaiva and the Chinese supplied trade goods and transport, if needed, at some extra cost.

During the year I was in the field, it became the ambition of many villages to have their own trade store. In the Sasembata [554] area alone, at least four new ones were started. The arguments in favour of them were: that the village store might as well have the profits instead of these all going to the Europeans; that one would not need to walk so far to buy goods; that the village store would sell goods at all hours, instead of only during the day. There was a strong ideological motive as well, to be discussed later. The stores were an avenue, above all, to greater power. Inonda was served by a planter-owned trade store two miles from the village.

Hence, the role of the Chinese in the Northern District was a rather interesting one. It was they who opened to the Orokaiva the opportunity of trading. The Chinese, indeed, gave wholesale discounts to all these small shops and treated the traders without condescension. Every few weeks, the Chinese truck delivered supplies to the shops in the Sasembata area. It was then, too, that it collected coffee. The storekeepers also visited Popondetta to collect the supplies when they could, occasionally with the clandestine help of a government driver.

Section 8: Contact With the "Tsupa"

177 In the previous sections I have sketched the network of
366 contacts characteristic of Sivepa village at the time of the eruption
368 and the present, and compared these with Inonda. The comparison cannot usefully be carried too far, as Inonda is much closer to Popondetta than Sivepa, while the small size of Inonda and its longer distance from even a minor educational, and medical centre and from a mission station introduces ecological elements reducing cultural contact. A general difference between the two places, resulting from these factors, is that the locale of contact for the people of Sivepa is most often the village, or a place only a mile or so from the village (the mission station, or Garoubi, or Sasembata village), the locale of contact for the Inonda people is
177 more often Popondetta. Another difference is that whereas Sivepa,
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Map IX

[End Map 8]

Source: Waddell & Krinks 1968: 34

22: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1969 0123 Orokaiva 0123 Mount Lamington

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